

SUSANNE MEINL AND DIETER KROGER

THE POLITICAL AWAY FROM FREDERICK WILLIAM HEINZ

From the Freikorps fighters for the Director of the Intelligence service in the Federal Chancellery

The first stage of Friedrich Wilhelm Heinz's political career was ideal-typical for the 'Development of lost generation', the from the school desk into the steel storm of the First World War and, swept away by the maelstrom of post-war chaos, was often unable to find a connection to civilian life.¹ Born in 1899 as the son of a merchant in Frankfurt am Main born, he concluded already in As a child, he joined the Boy Scouts of the Young German League. With this league, the state tried to alleviate the unease of youth the stuffy Wilhelminian plush culture by paramilitary education and to recruit junior officers *. Consequently, Heinz 1916 as a war volunteer to the Berlin Guard Fusiliers. At the end of the war, he was one of those countless lieutenants who had mostly learned nothing else, sometimes a company closed over the gutter to lead". They could barely expect to the calcined army the Weimar republic taken over to become. However boten the numerous Freikorps the post-revolutionary Heinz era she many others first Delay before returning to bourgeois existence or falling into social misery.

In the In the early summer of 1919, Heinz von the border battles in Silesia to a He was assigned to a political information course. He was connected with the ultimately failed Considerations the general Walter from Lüttwitz and some

¹ See Helmut Theisen, *The Development of Nihilistic Nationalism in Germany 1918-1933*, historical-sociological Studie, D»s. Basci 195s, see , M•rgret Boveri, *The betrayal in the XX. Century. Feed and against the Nation*, Hamburg 1956, p. 109ff.

² See Susanne Meinl, *A Conservative Revolutionary in the Weimar Republic and in the "Third Reich"*. One polrtiach-biographical sketch of the Frederick William Heinz 1918 until 1945, unpublished master's thesis Giesen 1990, p. 48f1. One from the Foundation Volkswagen factory sponsored Dissertation the Ruhr University Bochum to this Themn is located itself in Preparation. To function the Nadfinder in the Empire cf. v, x. Klaus Saul, *The Battle to the youth between elementary school and barracks. A contribution to 'youth care' in the Wilhelminian Reich 1890-1914*, in: *Military History Messages (MGM)* 9 (1971), pp. 97-143.

So the mocking formulation at Serious from Solomon, *The Questionnaire*, Hamburg 1951, p. 218f.

Reichswehr Commanders as well as higher officer the Eastern Provinces to possible Continuation of the war in the East*. From this time dates the contact with the National Association of Captain Waldemar Pabst, behind which Lüttwitz, Wolfgang Hopp and the Corvette Captain Hermann Ehrhardt stood. Here met Heinz next to leading- the heads of the Wilhelminian Conservatism more protagonists the right-wing political coup and secret society scene: the former Quartermaster General Erich Ludendorff, his Employees Colonel Max Bauer, Ehrhardt's Adjutants Franz Sengfer and not last the Lieutenant Commander William Canaris. With them should Heinz also in Future one Passion split - the Conspiracy*.

The group, named after its leader Ehrhardt, distinguished itself as a stronghold of counter-revolutionary militancy. named 2. Marine Brigade. Here swore allegiance Freikorps fighters from the Balticum and from the Border protection East with right-wing extremists young people to a troop determined to do anything. Their march on Berlin during the Kapp Putsch Heinz as Company commander. Out of this March days of the Annual 1920 stirred the Connection by Heinz with Lieutenant Commander Manfred by Killinger and the one he led The Brigade's "Officer Assault Company." It formed the backbone of the Consul organization, which Ehrhardt and Dillinger set up from Bavaria after the failure of the Kapp Putsch. The surplus officer from the Reichswehr adopted Heinz met at the Founding meeting the Frankfurt One-

group of the Young Germans Order the former Baltic fighters Serious from Solomon and the active naval officer Erwin Core, relative the former Officers' assault company. As a courier between the Munich headquarters and the North German groups of the Organisation Consul, including the group around Canaris, then an admiral staff officer at the Baltic Sea station of the Reichsmarine, Kern was behind numerous actions of the semi-legal secret society. Network of former Ehrhardt Brigaders became in the Run of the Annual 1921 above Germany to Austria and Hungary.* Heinz quickly became the Hessian leader of the Consul organization, which since 1921, an agreement between Hitler and Ehrhardt following, a Channel ratio with the NSDAP and their Storm Troops (SA).

At the end of 1921, the Munich leadership sent two more FfK veterans, Hartmut Plaas and Karl Tillessen, to Frankfurt. Heinz and Tillessen built the Hessian NSDAP and SA on, Plaas edited a nationalistic rag-bargain. However, it did not stop there. Members of the Frankfurt group involved. Plaas, Tillessen and Ernst by Solomon became to perennial prison sentences sentenced. Only the agile Heinz could the

* See Hagen Schulte, Freikorps and republic 1918—1920, Boppard a.Rh. 1969, p. 101 ff.; Mtini, Fried- Rich Wilhelm Heinz, p. 58 ff.

* See Heinz Höhne, Canary Islands. patriot in the Twilight, Gütersloh 1984, p. 561f.

* See Gabriele Krüger, The brigade Ehrhardt, Hainburg 1971, p.38 ff.; Höhne, Canaris, p. 86ff., Means, Frederick William Heinz, p. 701f.

authorities credibly demonstrate that the assassination preparations to have known nothing '.

of course was the Zeal for persecution the authorities slowed down, because the Frankfurt Group worked with the Defense point West of the Reichswehr Group Commands 2 in Kassel together. The Cooperation of the Reichswehr with right-wing radicals The aim of the associations was initially to acquire a personnel reserve, i.e. a Black Reichswehr. Every regular regiment was a Training battalion attached, for the Temporary volunteers out of right military associations recruited became'. In his Characteristic as regional Leader which is now as a federal government Viking operating Organization Consul worked Heinz then also since Autumn 1922 in the Training Battalion of the Hessian Infantry Regiment with*.

The Cooperation with the associations also offered the Reichswehr the opportunity to fight against separatists and French spies in the occupied territories. Piquant in view of his cooperation with the French intelligence service after dem Second World War was 1922/23 the entanglement from Heinz in the 'Fuchs-MacLihaus Affair'. She was a climax the Cooperation from Rtichs- wehr and police with the anti-Semitic putschists when switching off one se- paratistic group. Through his skillful tactics, Heinz had contributed to getting rid of a rival organization and filling the empty coffers of the Wiking League." When the Münster defense force in the summer of 1923 in the district from Ruhr industrialists and high military the plan of a »Sicilian Ves- per' gtgen the French, Heinz was there again. Overall, the cooperation with the Reichswehr for the purpose of national defense gave the right military associations one liztnziene Illegality, the them allowed, against to mobilize the Republic.

See Krüger, *ibid.*, p. 104 ff.; Meinl, *ibid.*, p. 77 ff. To the Hessian Rchtrn cf. EberhM Schön, The Origin of nationalism in Hesse, Meisenheim/tSlan 1972, p. 18ff., Heiko Bou- man/susanne Meinl, Political anti-Semitism, Right-wing radicals Groups. Development of the Nazi Movement, in: Antisemitism and National Socialism in the Giessen Region, ed. by Bruno W. Redmann/Angelika Albtch/Heiko Boumann, Gieiten 1990, p. tt ff.

⁸ See Development of the Himself- and State Protection under special Consideration the so-called ,black Reichswehr and the prufi. Government to this Appearances (1923), in: Archive the Social Democracy (AdSD), legacy Carl Severing, folder 226; Francis L. Carsten, Reidiswehr and policy 1918—1933, Cologne/Berlin 1964, p. 168ff.; Krüger, Brigade Ehrhardt, S. 111 ff., Meinl, Friedrich&dhdM Heinz, p. 100ff.

See personnel file Heinz, in: Federal Archives-Military Archives (BA-MA), Person 6/6455, foL43. To Away- defense point West cf. Federal Archives Potsdam (BA P), Dept. 15.07, RK0, No. 158/1.

It succeeded in Organisation Consul, the although ethnic, but also separatist »Blücher League' about Hugo Machhaus - The aim was to Separation of Bavaria from Rich - to turn off and on top of that the him intended Money transfer the French occupying power in the own Bag plug in. The Frankfurt group dts Blücher League, the with the Blasting from Synagogues the Beacon for Go- hit set should, was from Heinz to betrayed the police. See the Reports theFrankfurter Zeit- tion and the People's Voice (FranMurt xM) from the March 21-23, 1923.

ⁱⁱ See Means, Frederick William Heinz, p. 100ff.

In Connection with the Black Reichswehr to Serious Book printer and Walter Stennes Ehrhardt positioned his brigade on the Bavarian border in October 1923, to the second Attempt at a March on Berlin to dare; had the Last year the Edolg of Mussolini's March on Seen Rome. The group Heinz takeover Upper Hesse the Flank protection against the Ruhr area and Thuringia. The The rift between Hitler and Ehrhardt that developed during the summer of 1923 was symptomatic of the inability the conspirators to uniform approach Consequently, the Buchrucker Putsch in Berlin and Küstrin. The Debacle Hitler's before the Feldherrnhalle in Munich experienced Heinz as not directly participate reliable eyewitness *. But the Uking-Bund was not deterred. He tried to convince the disappointed National Socialists in the own ranks to pull to connect with iiorer Help to try again. Since this the Police did not remain hidden, They arrested Heinz, one of the most active subversives. After several months in custody, he was released after General Walther Reinhardt, the commander of the in the Military District V, personally on his services to the State oath had pointed out.

Away Summer 1924 Heinz with Hans Black van Berk the Association journal of the Hessian Viking League out of here, the in presentation and Contents the later national national revolutionary Postilions anticipated. There Ehrhardt into the exile to Austria had to avoid, the in Wilhelminian Thought patterns persisting Leader of the Bavarian State Association, Election, dominant Influence on the Federal management. A group of "young" around Heinz, Schwarz van Btrk and Plaas vehemently for a national revolutionary Quedront policy The conflict ended with dem Transfer from Heinn and Black van Berk to Stahlhelm, League of Front Soldiers. " Its widely circulated association publication propagated a front-line soldier ideology that particularly appealed to young people. The magazine offered considerable publishing opportunities not only to the ambitious Heinz, but also to a whole series of young journalistic talents on the right: Ernst Jünger, Franz Schauwecker, the brothers Albrecht Erich and Gerhard Günther, Helmut Franke, the later GDR Foreign Minister Georg Dertinger and others. The Demand for one national revolutionaries Collection, however, provoked here too soon the Unwillingness the Traditionalists in the Federal leadership of the StaHhelm. They responded to the young generation's desire for greater influence with one restrictive Personnel policy. Franke and Younger left the StaMhelm 1926, Heinz and Black van Berk followed after a intermezzo in Braunschweiger State Association i928/29. In this national association, with its director Werner Schrader Heinz bdreundet was, then the Approach to the national revolutionary wing the NSDAP to the Brothers Strasser. She be-

" See Kruger, brigade Ehrhardt, S. 110ff.; Nice, National Socialism in Hesse, p.40ff., Meinl, even-
there, R lot ff.

" See Meinl, *ibid.*, p. 111 ff.

struggling itself already since longer to the in the steel helmet isolated Nationdrrevolutionare *.

Otto Strasser brought Heinz with Bernhard Rust, the Gauleiter of South Hanover-Brunswick, together. This lured him with a leading role in the Gau. From the everyday detail work of the Gau leadership disillusioned, was involved Heinz soon joins the Rural People's Movement in Schleswig-Holstein. Here he met the old buddies. In the protesting farmers trembled the Ehrhardt veterans one new chance to destabilize the Republic. Under the leadership of Plaas, the brothers Salomon and Walther Muthmann staged the farmers with bomb attacks on tax offices the accompaniment to their tax boycott. At the same time, Bruno von Salomon under Mediation of Heinz to connect to Strasser wing and to the Hamburg group around the journal edited by Albrecht Erich Günther German Folk culture. The Cooperation with the Rural People's Movement and The Ehrhardt Group aimed at the Hitler's disempowerment in favor of the Strasser wing. Rust and Joseph Goebbels initially supported the Attempt one national-revolutionary gathering under the aegis the NSDAP. Rust, however, soon realized the subversion intention and initiated proceedings against Heinz. During the investigation, Walther Buch, the head of the NSDAP's Investigation and Conciliation Committee, confirmed the suspicion. He informed Goebbels. originally had Like Heinz found: p() a clever, A well-read and political man. He now stands bravely by us. Unfortunately, he is somewhat conceited .° Now , while of the Reich Party Congress in August 1929, noted Goebbels: Book

.has a plot uncovered. Dr. Strasser, Heinz, Blank and associates against Hitler. (...) Now I fully understand the connections. (...) I'll stay where I am. By Hitler. We'll cut off the snake's head." The bomb attack the Rural People's Movement on the Reichstag in the September 1929 allowed Hider, to exclude his competitors and at the same time to prove his legality by the party exclusion the National Socialists involved ordered.

After dem Heinz was expelled from the party Berlin, where he as writer and Journalist of the Hugenberg Group worked and as Press Chairman of the Black Front of Otto Strasser. In 1930 he joined the Successor to Plaas as Personal Assistant to Ehrhardt. In April 1931, the social revolutionary group around Stennes, who had become a high-ranking SA leader, broke away from the NSDAP. Heinz tried to merger between the Groups from Stennes, Strasser and Ehrhardt The Pope, who had returned from exile in Austria, also played an opaque role supporting role. The first hopeful New foundation failed to

" See Volker mountain cock, The Steel helmet. Federal Government the Front soldiers 1918-1935, Düsseldorf 1966, esp.

p. 91 ff.

' s The Diaries from Joseph Goebbels. Szmdiche Fragments, ed. by Elke Cheerful in the Order of the Institute for Contemporary history and in Connection with dem Federal Archives, Part I: Recordings 1924- 1941, Vol. 1: 27.6. 1924-31. 12. 1930, Munichfl'iew York 1987, p. 258, 405. Herbert Blank was a relevant Representative of the Strasser-Fliigds.

the rivalry the four protagonists, the itself now on always quarreled. With it ended the above ten-year collaboration from Heinz with Ehrhardt. With Schauwecker and August /Innig Heinz founded the right-wing National Association of German Writers, the in fierce competition to National Socialist Combat League for German culture stood. Further was Heinz Member in the Young Conservatives Club, which of the Government Franz from Papen close, and the Company to the study of the fascism by Pabst. The revived cooperation in the Stahlhelm press led 1933 to return in the Stahlhelm Federal Leadership", The national Revolution nar seemed in the right-wing establishment arrived.

Ötn 30. January 1933 Heinz welcomed she many supporters of the Rights as not exclusively National Socialist seizure of power, rather as Continuation the with the Premium hit Papen's from the July 20 1932 successful policy the Harzburg Front. But the fresh baked StaMhelm leader, whose Federal Government to the Carriers of the new government belonged, became soon one Better instructed. In the Night of the Rtich- daytime burning became he with numerous Left-wing intellectuals and Communists from the SA arrested. Only through clever argumentation and the intervention of the Stahlhelm federal leadership he escaped worse. As a former member of the Strasser Group and intellectual head of the Stennes Revolt', said the SS group leader and leader the Prussian police, Kurt Daluege ', the Stahlhelm leader in the line of fire between the NSDAP and your conservative Allies. To this serious Position to escape and to further Editor remain to can, In the autumn of 1933, Heinz applied for his reinstatement in the Party. In view of the Hitler's unmistakable order never to accept Heinz into the party again, the absurd letters of request to the old adversaries Rust and Goebbels remained without a positive answer*.

The Stahlhelm Federal Leader Franz Seldte tried the Gleichschaltung through one Integration of the Bonds in to escape the SA. Since the SA was not prepared to give the Stahlhelm officials Participation in the own organization, increasingly Opposition against Seldte. She reached a first climax as the long-time NSDAP opponent Schrader in In the spring of 1933, the acceptance of communists and Social Democrats in the Braunschweiger The regional association to undermine the Gleichschaltung. Theodor Duesterberg's participation in the so-called »Brunswick Stahlheim Putsch' gave Seldte the Occasion, his Competitors

See BA P, Dept. 15.01, Rdl, No. 26 029 passini, Hans Beyer, The Rural People's Movement Schleswig- Holstein and Lower Saxony 192ß—1932, in: Yearbook of the Homeland Community of the District Eckernförde i S (1957), p. 173-202; Patrick Moreau, National Socialism from the Left. The pFight- Association of Revolutionary National Socialists* and the »Black Front' Otto Streets 1936- 1935, Stuttgart 19fl't, p. 117 ff.; Myl, Friedrich Wilhelm Heinz, p. 1H ff.

Excerpts report in Sarhen Stennes and Comrades, 6.6. 1933, in: Institute for Contemporary history (If2), ZS Walter Stennes, Vol. I, Page 12ff. See also Meinl, *ibid.*, p. 176 ff.

^{ts} See Investigation and Conciliation committee procedure F. W. Heinz (Copy one out of dem Berlin Document center (BDC) missing document), in: Federal Archives Koblenz (BA), NI 263/258, lol.28ff.

from the federal leadership to push *. In the Stahlhelmstudentenring Langemarck formed itself in the Summer 1933 with Heinz, the former Ehrhardt supporters Eberhard Scherbening and Hans-Jürgen Count Blumenthal, former adjutant Duysterbergs, a smaller Opposition circle. To him grouped itself the young conservatives, close to Duysterberg. Part of the Langemarcker, under them also the oldest Grandson of Emperor, Prince William of Prussia. Here developed first Basics for the

later national conservatives Resistance ²⁰.

The Röhm Putsch brought for the steel helmet not the hoped Consolidation, but rather the Liquidation of the Organization and the Coping with opposition Officials such as the Königsberg Jungstahlheim leader Arnold Bistrick from the circle of friends of Prince Wilhelm and, of course, Schröder. Also for the National Socialist renegade Heinz, who in the wake of political unreliability, the situation escalated in winter 1935/36 to. The ban of his Books announced the coming unforeseeable future. Protection before persecution and one new, appropriate occupation. At the end of 1935 only still the frequently so designated 'aristocratic form of the Emigration' in the Wehrmacht. Through their the Upgrade increased Personnel requirements. After one Reserve exercise in the January 1936 he as Supplementary Officer in the Foreign Affairs/Defense Office ²¹.

Since the end of the twenties Years, the small defense department had become a well-functioning military Intelligence service. As the in the meantime for the Captain of the lake Canaris advanced in 1935 the Line of the Office had taken over, acquired quickly the reputation of a convinced National Socialist, whom it succeeded, itself with to arrange the competing services". The connections were again Benefits. The Legal advisor of the Gestapo, Werner Best, strove for his part effective coordination of Work from Gestapo, security service the SS and military Defense. With him associations Canaris not only the common Origin out of of the world the Freikorps and the Black Reichswehr, rather also common friends of the How Ehrhardt and whose loyal Adlatus Plaas ²². The ambitious and competent

¹⁹ Vgl. mountain cock, StahlHDM, p. 245 ff.

²⁰ Vgl. Meinl, Friedrich William Heinz, p. 180ff.

²¹ See personnel file W. Schröder, in: Lower Saxony State Archives Wolfenbüttel, 12A NeuFb7/447; Kreuz-Zeitung from 27. 7. 1935; Theodor Duysterberg, The Stahlhelm and Hitler, Wolfenbüttel/Hanover 1949, p. 4sf.

²² Vgl. Thank you, Frederick William Heinz, p. 183ff.

²³ See Höhne, Canaris, p. 162ff.

²⁴ See Friedrich Hietscher, 50 years under Germans, Hamburg 1954, p. 286 ff.; Mzratla Hietala, The New nationalism in the Journalism Serious Younger and of the circle to him, 1920-1933, Helsinki 1925, p. 29 ff. To Best's early political career in the by Heinz u. a, guided group in Hesse from 1923 to 1927 cf. Boumann/Meinl, Antisemitism, p. 68ff., 176 ff.; personnel file W. Best, in: BA, N1 263/421, dead. 4off.

Head of the third Department of the Office Foreign Affairs/Defense, Rudolf Bamler, the also maintained good contacts with the Gestapo, and, on Canaris' instructions, pushed the propaganda campaign against espionage and Treason. To this Purpose was a Report for Press matters and -surveillance furnished. As dtssen Director found In the spring of 1936, Captain Heinz was given a task in keeping with his journalistic past*.

With his immediate superior, Lieutenant Colonel Hans Easter, association Heinz soon not only one narrow Friendship, rather also one critical assessment the po- litical conditions. In German following months found further his companions from the twenties years the Away in the defense, the How ez with dem Regjme in Con- flikt advised were: Liedig, eheiria1iger Ehrhardt confidants and Wiking Managing Director as well as Preund of the while of the Röhm Putsch murdered Papen advisor Edgar J.Jung, Schrader, the Canaris 1936 literally in last minute before the Arrest preserved had, Ludwig Gehre, dtr Hitler still out of whose Time as agitator of the Munich Reichswehr Group Commands knew and with dem Heinz while the »Stennes Revolt' and in Pabst's Society for the Study of Fascism*. Easter for his part, narrow Connections to the former Jungstahlhelm leader and German politician Hans Bernd Gisevius, the ministerial official Hans von Dohnanyi, the Duesterberg son Georg and Major Helmuth Groscurth, former member the organization Consul and now Director dtr Department II of the Foreign Office/Defense²¹.

Plaas also came vriedtr into play. He worked on Healed Ehrhardt's since 1934 in the Listening center of the Air Force and informed his national revolutionary cronies about all the important information. Plaas also acted as an intermediary between Canaris and Ehrhardt. Ehrhardt's attempt to use his former troops as Brigade Ehrhardt in the SS Association to revive it in order to infiltrate the SS according to the tried and tested pattern had already failed in 1934. Through Best, Canaris was able to protect the popular Ehrhardt from difficulties with the Gestapo."

The circle around Canaris, Oster and Heinz supported Hitler's revisionist policy and the Wehrmacht leadership with the aim a German hegemony in Europe. The more obviously Hitler's policy turned into a war-provoking gamble, the more the national-conservative Fronde found itself in a defensive position to counteract caused. Hitler-dependent high military met she with Skepticism,

²⁵ See Höhne, Canaris, p. 183 ff.; Meinel, Frederick William Heinz, p. 185 ff.

²¹ See Excerpts report in Things Stennes and Comrades, in: IBZ, ZS Stennes, Vol. 1. Personal Messages from Fritz Gehre, Constance, and Dr. Werner W. Schroeder, Heidelberg, to S.Meinel.

" See Romedio G. Count of Thun-Hohenstein, Or Conspirator. General Easter and the Military Opposition, Berlin 1982, esp. S. 44 ff.; Höhne, Canaris, p. 189 ff., 277, 397, Hdmuth Groscurth, Tcgebüchtr of an Abwehr officer 1938-1940. With further documents on Military opposition against Hitler, ed. by Helmut Krausnick/Harold C. Deuuch, Stuttgart 1970, passim.

" VgL BDC, Personnel files H. Ehrhardt, W. Muthmann, H. Plaas; diary Plaas 1933/34, in: Private-switch on Plaas; Hielscher, f0 Years under Germans, p.49 ff.

while the boss of the General Staff of the Heeres, Ludwig Beck, itself next to Carl Bratdel to the head of the national conservative opposition developed'. One after The memorandum on the foreign policy situation, written by Oster and Heinz after the Anschluss of Austria, was also in the context of the memoranda by Beck. Heinz and Oster demanded quite in the traditional Frame German Great power politics a

Defensive alliance with Russia or England under the aspect of war prevention³¹. The in the same Memorandum propagated cooperation with dem National-Chiang Kai-shek's china put them in cooperation with the Chinese military attaché Kwei Yun-chin and the Journalist Lin Tsiu-sen on. With it "the official pro-Japanese foreign policy was undermined."

- 1 Further criticized the group to Easter at all enthusiasm for the new Germany the supposed excesses of the totalitarian system. In addition, which increasing resentment against the Party bureaucracy. Today's common enemy made it easier to make contact with yesterday's opponent. Heinz mediated Conversations between Easter and leading Social Democrats How Hermann Maass and Wilhelm Leuschner. Plans were also discussed with both of them to Wdhelm to the Great a modern people's monarchy" to place. One saw it as a promising alternative to the one proposed by Liedig in the draft of a Reich constitution by his mentor Alfred Schmid-Noerr, which brought about discussion. He saw the corporate state as a response to the problems of industrial society. by Goerdeler, Canaris, Beck and its NacMolger as The military dictatorship sought by Chief of the General Staff, Franz Halder, met with little approval from the group around Heinz."

In the late summer of 1938, the following three groups with different goals met: For the Anti-War Party (Beck, Canaris, Halder and the State Secretary in the Foreign Office, Ernst von Weizsäcker) the coup was the ultima ratio to Preventing war. The subversive group (Oster, Gisevius, Goerdeler, the Reichsbank President Hjalmar Schacht and the Colonel General Erwin von Ntzleben) wanted

See Klaus-Jürgen Müller, *The army and Hitler, army and National Socialist Regime 1933- 1940*, Stuttgart 1969, S.3Rt ff.; Htinz Höhne, Canaris and the Defense between Adjustment and Opposition, in: *The Resistance against the National Socialism. The German Company and the Wi-resistance against Hitler*, ed. by Jürgen Schmadtke/Peter Sctinbach, Müncheuf, Zurich 't986, p.405—417.

¹⁰ See Remarks to the Executions of the Leader on 28. and 29.5. 1938, Considerations to ge-current military-political Position Germany, 5.5. 1938, in: BA-MA, N 28/3.

³¹ Foreign policy assessment after the Anschluss of Austria (1938), in: *Privatnzhalt Heinz*.

³² Personal Messages from Hedwig Heinz and Gisela Fox, born Heinz, Laie/Hawaii; Prof. Hsi-Huey Liang, Poughkeepsie/New York, to p. Meinl; Findings about F. W. Heinz, n.d., in: *United states Army Intelligence and Security Command, Freedom of information Act (FOIA)*, Fort George G. Mead, Maryland (ISC), File Frederick William Heinz, fol. 416. See also Hsi Huey Liang, *The Sino-German Connection, Alexander from Falkenhausen between China and Germany 1900—1941*, Amsterdam 1978, p.130 ff.

See Meinl, Frederick William Heinz, \$.189ff.

in addition, the restoration of the alliance the national conservative elites with the NSDAP*⁴ cleansed of excesses. The "Conspiracy in the conspiracy" of Heinz and Liedig demanded the assassination attempt on Hitler as a prerequisite a political reorganization. By this at least for Htinz based on the example of English constitutional marriages monarchy align, he wanted to deal with the bloody Methods his national revolutionary Past to Democracy back, the he once had fought with the same means.

Particularly clear becomes the paradoxical Side by side From Conspiracy against the regime and system-stabilizing defense work in Heinz's everyday professional life. His brochures and Educational films against espionage and Treason as well as his Screenplays to relevant UFA feature films contrast strangely with the war prevention strategy of the Easter group. Hardly less curious was the Cooperation with the Reich Chamber of Literature and dtr responsible party commission at the surveillance of book publications; were standing his until published in 1933 Books on the Index^o. At least Heinz was able to ban Serious Jünger's African Games through intervention at the responsible Traffic police station to impede*¹.

After Heinz in the Blomberg-Fritsch crisis 1937/38 as temporary partner deep depressed Colonel General Werner from Fritsch only one played a supporting role, he in the September 1938 before dem background dtr Sudetenland Crisis commissioned, a rescue team to arrest Hitler's to form. This recruited because also out of dem familiar political environment. In addition to Heinz himself and Liedig, he also Members of the former »Stahlhelm-Studentenring«, former Jungstahlhelm leaders and friends of the Princes William to: Count Blumenthal, Bistrick, Albrecht Erich Günther, Go, Hans-Albrecht Herzner and others. Only late was Heinz Oster able convince that Hitler immediately to kill be, should the StateSoft succeed at all. A Part of the assault squad was in Berlin, another waited at home for an agreed-upon cue. Further support hoped the Stolttrupp from the infantry regiments No. 1 (in Königsberg) and 9 (in Potsdam), the itself dem Prince Wilhelm connected felt. The crisis found however through the Give in Great Britain on 28. September 1938 still once a peaceful end. Disappointed saw the conspirators that parts the undecided Wehrmacht leadership first none Anlall more had, itself on her Page to hit. The counterintelligence officers returned to everyday routine back. There the annexation of the Sudetenland without War be achieved could, prepared the conspirators from yesterday now eager the invasion before. Actually held this annexation is still within the framework of traditional revision policy".

⁴ See Müller, Heer, S. 345 ff.; *ibid.*, On the structure and peculiarity the national conservatives opposition until 1938. Domestic political power struggle, War prevention policy and eventual coup plans tion, in: Schmädke/Stninbach, Resistance, pp. 329—344.

See Joachim C. Firmly, Hitler. One Biography, Fran Mun aM/Berlin/Wieri 1973, p. 772.

¹ See Meinl, Frederick William Heinz, p. 187f.

" Personal notice from Serious Younger, Wilflingen, to p. Meinl.

" See IfZ, ZS Jostf Müller, Vol. IV, p. 15f.; Müilleq Army, p. 359ff.; Höhne, Caniris, p. 292 ff.; My(Friedrich William Heinz, p. 192 ff.

The outbreak of war meant for Heinz only the journalistic Mobilization. At the end of the Polish campaign, the one again welcomed had, thought the In view of the impending attack in the West, resistance fighters once again called for the formation of a shock troop against Hitler and other leading figures of the regime. There without Walter von Brauchitsch, Commander-in-Chief of the army, and his chief of staff Halder, the coup could not succeed, but both End before the conspiracy , everything again in the Sands. Therefore betrayed Easter 1940, perhaps in agreement with Beck, the beginning of the western offensive and the attacks on Norway and Denmark. Fail namely should the Wehrmach leadership a new offer facilities, to follow the line of the conspirators." Heinz's first front-line assignment took place in 1940 during the France reporting platoon in one of the defense troops for the collection and evaluation of enemy material' ¹⁰. Heinz, who was not part of the department, was possibly supposed to obtain French documents about Oster's treason and the exploratory attempts the national conservatives opposition at the Western powers ensure .

1940 was also not a good year for the conspirators. War successes were successful overthrow as well in contrast to How the numerous reshuffles in key positions in the Wehrmacht. Oster's group was reinforced by the regime opponents Dohnanyi, Gehre, Karl Ludwig Baron von Guttenberg, Justus Delbrück, and Theodor Strünck, who had been drafted into the Abwehr. They maintained contact with church opposition circles and Bavarian monarchists. Schrader came of the Defense point Vienna back. But Canaris fluctuated in view of the Successes Hitler's always stronger between Conspiracy and cooperation with dem Regime. Through Groscurth's transfer to the front, Liedig's employment as naval attaché in Sofia and Gisevius' Change in the Consulate General in Zurich was the Fronde in the defense was further weakened. However, Gisevius soon proved to be an irreplaceable liaison to Swiss authorities and to the Residents of the American Intelligence service under Allen W. Dulles".

The soldier's death of Prince Wilhelm in May 1940 moved Heinz finally insist on a prompt command. End In 1940, Oster and Canaris had the Found the right one for Heinz: the Regiment subordinate to the Abwehr gBrandenburg'. The since 1939 as counterpart to the British Commands established command and Sabotage unit had itself the reputation of a powerful troop acquired. Through one targeted personnel policy should she for the Instrument of conspirators are built up. However, the Education from resistance cells from Beginning to on limits. The originally

¹⁰ See Harold C. German, conspiracy against the War, Resistance in the years 1939—1940, Mün- chen 'is6s, p. s2i., to fi., 2 3ii.

¹⁰ See in addition Oscar Rush, The German intelligence in the II. World War. Western Front. The Battle the Away- defense in the western Operational area, in England and North Africa, augsburg 1990, S i sff.

" Vg). Groscurth, Diaries, 5,300; Höhne, Canaris, p.363ff. To Role of Gisevius in the Switzerland cf. Klaus urn; Or Swiss Hitler assassins. Three Studies for the Resistance and his border bertichen, Zurich 1982, p. 7ff.

planned use from Heinz as Regimental Commander rejected the Army Personnel Office due to lack of military qualification. He then took over the first Battalion. His own Meaning exaggerated, emphasized Heinz after dem War, he had brought a "morning gift" to the military resistance in 1936, namely a large part of the former opposition circle from the steel helmet and the Stahlhelm Student Ring. Him built he in consultation with Oster alongside other regime- critical officers and soldiers at Brandenburg'. The group remained However, it was a foreign body within the regime, as it was mainly recruited from Nazi-enthusiastic ethnic Germans and German expatriates, adventurers and veterans of the Burian Youth, the Pre-corps and Military association scene. Straight latter expected from Brandenburg" a renaissance of old Freikorps days".

The unit became even more diverse when the first battalion was given a new command post in preparation for the Ruffland campaign one so-called foreign peoples Unit allocated became, the Nightingale Battalion. It consisted of members of the faction around Stepan Bandera within the organization Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Ditse semi-fascist organization worked specifically with the Abwehr to create a Ukrainian state with the help of Nazi Germany. The Abwehr on their part considered the National Ukrainians predominantly as instrument to sabotage and subversion. Groscurth had still as Chtf of the II. Division of the Defence , the "Brandenburg" until 1943 was directly subordinate to a Ukrainian State under German hegemony. He thus continued the border states concept of the First World War, but was in contrast to the National Socialist Policy of extermination[^]. Heinz and his Liaison officers at Nachtigall', Herzntz and the economist Professor Theodor Oberländer, implemented this policy through her Support the Ukrainian Autonomy efforts away. They conceded dem unofficial Leader from "Nightingale', novel Shukhevych, who belonged to the leadership of the Bandera faction, that the battalion should play a limited, independent political role in the creation of a Ukrainian state."

On June 30, 1941 Heinz at the top his unity and with Nightingale' in Lviv. They encountered attacks by Russian commissars against the civilian population Massacre. The Wehrmacht followed at a certain time interval together with a Special command of the SD irregular Ukrainian Both now organized a pogrom at the Jewish population, against which Heinz is in a situation- **Miliz**

[^] Heinz to Rudolf Pechel, 1. 7. 1947, in: BA, N116o III/i.

" See Helmut Spreter, *The Brandenburger; one German Commando force* zbV 800, Munich 1978, esp. p. 13 ff., 75 ff.; Oetld Count from Schwerin, .Then are the working heads, the one hangs!'. The boy generation in the German Resistance, Munich 1991, p. 281 ff.; Höhne, Canaris, p. 359 ff.; Meinl, Friedrich Wilhelm Heinz, p. 195 ff.

Vg). John H. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationality 1939-15*, New York 1955, esp. p. 73ff.; Yaroslav Bilinsky, *The Second Soviet Republic: The Ukraine anus World War II*, New Brunswick 1964, esp. p.118 ff.; Volodymyr Kosyk, *Germany national-socislisteet Ukraine*, Paris 1986, p. 143 h.

* ^S See Höhne, Canaris, p.302ff.

report sharpen protest inserted". Himmler complained later at Canaris above the arbitrary pro-Ukrainian policy from Heinz. As Flag and other in the Trust on German Commitments in Lviv a Ukrainian State proclaimed to the Germans to present a fait accompli. The SD made these efforts a quick end. That the operational readiness from "Nightingale" under the arrest the Ukrainian Pührer suffered, one may then Heinz as have interpreted leadership weakness. Apparently he himself also at the High Command the Wehrmacht made unpopular because in winter 1941 had to be Battalion".

After setting up an agent school, At the beginning of 1943, Heinz, called the "V-Mann-Abteilung", took over the 4th Jäger Regiment of the Regiment 'Brandenburg', which had been expanded to a division. The conspirators had now assigned him the task of searching for a successful assassination attempt on Hitler through the Tresckow District the Army Group center the West Berlin to secure and the SS Artillery School in Jüterbog to neutralize. With Colonel Alexander from Pfullstein believed the conspirators the suitable commander which also future as coup troops Division found to have. Actually had he himself in the Fritsch crisis joined the defensive front, was meanwhile internally again from her Other key positions in the division were gradually filled with reliable officers occupied become. The teams however recruited itself in the war year 1943 from graduates of the SS Ordensburg and the Adolf Hitler Schools. Furthermore became the division the Defense withdrawn. One assumed she for the

t. April 1943 dem Wehrmacht General Staff, the she as infantry Fire department Only the S. Regiment »Elector«, which emerged from the undercover agent department, remained as Commando force of the Department II the Defense subordinate. Although also in this regiment more opposition Officers enter, saw it here barely different out of as in the rest units. Schrader's son, Werner, the in spring 1943 also to Elector fetched became, remembered itself later: gHeinz and Captain Gehre said, this troop become at the StateSoft after Marching in Berlin and the Government district occupy. I saw me as Member a new brigade Ehrhardt and found then no ten People at the regiment Elector with one hitledeinendlichen Extraction. The Regimental Adjutant wore the golden Hitler Youth badge."

The case from Standard gear seemed finally one real chance for the overthrow to offer ten. The optimism presented the Easter Group however, the View on the actual Conditions in the division pBrandenburg'. Included pulled itself the loop the

" See Battalion 800 Come. major Heinz, Dull message above Intake Lviv and completed Whether-
jektsi ing. 1.7. 1 f9 in: BA-MA, WP-03/34 170; Joop Black, Lviv 1941 and Oberländert;

1
* 7 cf. My Frie dr ich William Heinz, p. 197f.

" Also if he this appliance different represented. See Holine, Carius, p. 4Dff.

" Persian notice from Dr. Werner W. Schrader to p. Meinel. See also Schwerin, Generation,
p. 284 ff.; Means, Frederick William Heinz, 5, 198 f.

Gestapo always more closely around the increasingly reckless Conspirators. Already since In the summer of 1942, an investigation was underway against Dohnanyi's confidant Wilhelm Schmidhuber, during which Dohnanyi and Oster were accused of dubious financial transactions and unjustified claims of inability to were detected. itself the already since long cherished Suspicion high- and treasonous activities of the Oster Group. Plaas warned Count Moltke, reserve officer of the Abwehr and head of the Kreisau Circle, via Oehre and Hdmuth, that the conspirators' conversations had already been intercepted. Symptomatic of the recklessness of Heinz was the violation against the simplest conspiratorial Rule - dig Vgfschweigen- He ranted in the officers' mess in Brandenburg loudly about the plans for a coup. Now paid itself the targeted Personnel policy in the Division "Brandenburg ". An officer who was privy to all the plans played down the incident and was able to prevent it from being reported; especially since the Regiment Heinz already on the Path to front-line deployment was .

Ditser brought in 1943 a New edition of the Ukraine episode of 1941. The Regiment was to Anti-partisan warfare in the southern Yugoslavia used. In view of the upcoming landing the Allies in Italy forced the each other rival communist Partisans under Tito and the nationalist-monarchist Chetniks to drama Mihailovitch your Battle. Heinz appeared the order, the Partisans both Directions to destroy, politically nonsensical and military to loss-making. Consequently tried he, with Mihailovitch a Alliance against Tito to settle. With it acted he again quite in the tradition the defense, ethnic or political minorities to insurgency. From the superior Commanders became the independent acting officer however fast whistled back fen. Division Commander Pfulstein — with the Heinz one depth mutual aversion association — ensured the rapid replacement his uncomfortable subordinates. After Oster was eliminated, Heinz no support more for his situation quite adapted Act. Canaris could straight still a court martial Investigation against Heinz knock down, fell into disrepair but otherwise increasingly passive".

Until the summer of 1944, Heinz took an involuntary break in the Führerreserve. On July 20, 1944, he and his colleague, Dr. Blumenthal, met at the Wehrmacht High Command in Bendlerstrasse. Although he was now Chief of the Wehrmacht High Command, in the Military District III Berlin, was he not in the Pursue »Wa1küre' Of the the following Time arrested The conspirators incriminated Oster Heinz in particular by stating that division Brandenburg" the Führer Headquarters dig out should. In the contrast to Pfulstein became

¹⁰ Personal message Dr. Hans-Jürgen from Biilow, Kassel, to S. Meiril. VQ also Elisabeth Chowa- niec, The case Dohnanyi' 1943-194S. Resistance, military justice, SS-Willkiir, Munich 1991, p.31 If.; Schwerin, Generation, p.284;Höhne, Canaris, p. 474 ff.

" See Walter R. Roberts, Tito, Mihailovic and the Allies 1941-1945, New Brunswick 1973, p.123If., Jozo Tomasevich, The Chetniks, Stanford 1975, p. 282 f.; Means, Prince William Heinz, p. 199.

Heinz after several days of interrogation through the Gestapo Commissioner Walter Huppen-kothén dismissed. The Gestapo had no Proofs against Heinz in the Hand, who, in typical Maurer fashion, denied everything. His Role in the Preparations for the coup in the years 1938 until 1940 was still unknown. That changed itself bldd. Franz Sondereg-ger, Employees Huppenkothens, found after suicide Schrader's end August 1944 the long ago destroyed believed files the conspirators out of the years 1938 until 1940".

Due to the Documents were Halder, Liedig and others and ordered the re-arrest of Heinz. However, he was his superior, a former Stahlhelm comrade, warned and went under. his place became Wife and stepbrother were arrested. A mentally disabled son was provided by a "brown sister", according to the Term for National Socialist nurses, in the Euthanasia facility Brandenburg/Göhrden one where he after from eating presumably poisoned food. Gestapo believed Heinz in Switzerland, from where the Heinz family frequently received packages from his Chinese friend Lin Tsiu-sen. Heinz had to leave Germany in 1941 together with the military attaché Kwei Yun-chin. Heinz actually survived in a Berlin garden house. Members of his old Brandenburg region supplied him with food and false papers. Later, the resistance group "Uncle Emil" around Ruth Andreas-Friedrich took care of the under - smoker⁵².

Influence Friends tried to Heinz to intervene. To Robert Schulz, SS Brigadeführer and member of the Reichstag, which since his time at Brandenburg⁵³ was friends with Heinz despite his involvement on the opposing side. Schulz should him after Soundings at Serious Ka)tenbrunner, boss of the Reich Security Main Office, and Roland Frtislér, President of the People's Court, the offer of front-line probation while maintaining its just received promotion to colonel, but had no knowledge of his whereabouts. Just in time for the After the Russians invaded and the street fighting began, Heinz retreated to the Witider at Potsdam. He thus survived the last days of the war, in contrast to his now quickly murdered co-conspirators Canaris, Oster, Gehre, Dohnanyi and others ⁵⁴.

⁵² See Verdict gtgtn Hupprnkothén, Walter and Thorbeck, Dr. Otto, 5.11. 1952, in: IfZ, Gm 0Z.14 a; Statement Sonderegger, O. D., Verdict against Franz Sonderegger, 12. 1. 1949, in: Ibid., ED 92, Opposi- tion gtgen Hitler and the coup from the July 20 1944. Secret Documents out of dem former Reich Security Main Office, ed. from Haut-Adolf Jacobsen, Stuttgart 1989, Vol. 1, p.370 f.; Höhne, Cnnaris, p. 547ff. In Zossen stored a Part the files, the Heinz 1943 together with Schrader and whose Son from the Tresoi the Prussian State Bank had brought, where until there stepbrother Siaats-financerat Hermann Shilling a Eye on she had.

⁵³ Ygl. Ruth Andreas-Friedrich, The Shadow man. Diary entries 1938-1945, Frankfurt x M. 1986, p. 206ff., 233 ff., 2ZJ if.; Meinel, Frederick William Heinz, p.200 ff.

⁵⁴ See Correspondence Fabian from Schlabrendorff/Robtrt Schulz, April 1958, in: Private estate Heinz.

III.

The first Post-war weeks brought new tasks. The Magistrate the city of Berlin sent Heinz to Procurement of food into the Surrounding area. Here, in Bad Saarow-Pieskow he took over few Months later the Government office of the Mayor. His Past a)s officer the defense could Heinz conceal. That he turned to social democracy, not only corresponded to the political climate, but also lay in the consequence of the lessons he had drawn from National Socialism when it was still in blossom stood. With Gustav Dahrendod, a member of the Berlin Central Committee of the SPD, whom he knew through Maass and Leuschner, he founded the SPD in circles Pürstenwalde. Initially like Dahrendod supporter of cooperation with the communists, Heinz soon came into conflict with lokden KPD punctures. In the Summer 1946 returned he again after Back to Berlin. Kwei tun-chin, Director the Chinese military mission, had him in Memory to the previous Cooperation the Relocation permit Although the Gbersiedlung almost the Character of a Escape from the Soviet intelligence service, wanted Soviet Place or whose German representatives further with Rudolf Herrnstadt and Gerhard Kegel were agents of the Soviet secret service and now senior editors of the Berliner Zeitung, a liberal token paper in the Soviet press landscape. They offered Heinz one Position to, the he but turned it down. He worked Dear for the in the French sector and under the pseudonym Horst Falkenhagen for the Berlin editorial office of the newspaper funded New Newspaper. With dem Head of Editorial Department, Enno Hobbing, Heinz had known since the 1930s.

The outbreak of the Cold War also marked the beginning of a new era of conspiracy, in which pomp, business acumen, and intelligence professionalism often coexisted. Berlin was these years not only flourishing newspaper city, but Eldorado the most diverse Intelligence services. Hardly surprising, opened up for Heinz soon the familiar field of activity, this time in the service of yesterday's enemy. Possibly through Gisevius, contact with the American Major Fred Stalder, who while of the War Employees from Dulles in the Switzerland and now in Berlin

" See note. 32, Heinz to Blank, 4. 8. 1953, in: Private estate of Heinz. fixed-term result, 28.1. 1954, The Federal Commissioner for the Documents of the State Security Service the former German democratic Republic, Central Archive of the Ministry for State security (ZA MMS), AP I f 284/56, fol.44—fi9.

" See Jkegel to Heinz, 21.11. 1946, in: Private estate of Heinz. For Herrnstadt and Kegel see. Ulrich Sahn, Rudolf from Sheliha 1897—1942. A German diplomat against Hideo Munich 1990, esp. see 46. ff., 151 ff.; Hans Borgelt, The was the Springby Berlin. One Berlin Chronicle, Munich 1980, p. 88 ff.

" See Heinz to Claer, 2.4. 1949, in: Privacy Policy Heinz; Boveri, Betrayal, p.111.

employed wh'. Ruth Andreas-Friedrich mediated 1947 the acquaintance with Jan Eland, Dutch news dealer and to this time still employee of the Dutch intelligence service. Over the cooperation at the courier service itself the connection to the French intelligence service.

With Heinrich von zur Mühlen, who worked for the British intelligence service, and Jacob Kolb, once adjutant of Heinz in whose regiment at »Brandenburg', as well as Eland pulled Heinz a news trading on. As far as follow-up in the Soviet zone were again former "Brandenburgers". The group soon came across Karl-Gideon von Claer, which was founded in 1947 by the French the Order taken over had, against the Red Army and the in the During the Berlin Blockade, the Americans flew their assistant Heinz to West Germany. out of, The French was Heinz apparently so has become valuable that she him one Publishing license gave. He lay himself in Neuwied, in the French occupation zone, low. Although with it under their direct care, supplied Heinz continues not only the French. How he himself towards his later superiors admitted, he stood in constant exchange of ideas with all three Western Allies in Berlin about the military situation in the GDR. Heinz's network is, said Claer in review, practical a American intelligence service been. Consequently presented the French cooperation with Heinz 1948/49". Hobbing mediated in 1949 the contact to the American senator Henry Luca. This transferred Heinz became the German representative of his renowned news magazines Time and Life* in 1950. The reputation from Heinz was so big that after the founding of the Federal Republic also the State Secretary in the Federal Ministry of the Interior, Hans Knight of Lex, and his speaker Karl Sauer beginning 1950 to Heinz turned to with to discuss the establishment of a civilian defense office, the later Federal Office for Defense Protection*¹.

Despite the »real bull market in intelligence services and information points¹⁰* on German soil despite the Federal Government initially does not have its own intelligence service. In view of the actually or however, given the supposedly looming military threat from the East, it was only logical that the Chancellor not exclusively on information leave wanted, the him from Western Allied

⁵⁸ Vgl. Mery Ellen Reese, General Reinhard Go. The CIA Connection, Faidan 1990, p. 212; personal by Message from Hedwig Heinz and Gisela Fox to S. Meinl.

⁵⁹ Vgl. Hermann Rolling/Heinz Höhne, Pullach internally. general Gehlen and the Story of the Bund of the intelligence service, Hamburg 1971, p. 22p1f.; Boveri, Yerrat, p. 111 ff.; personal notice from Hedwig Heinz and Gisela Fox to p. Meinl.

⁶⁰ See Findings above FW Heinz, in: ISC, File Heinz, dead. 418; Note Kielnarisegg from the 28. 7. 1953, in: BA-MA, BW9/2111, fol. 179 f., Note Easter of 16 November 1951, in: Ibid. 2110, fol. 135; Zolling/Höhne, Pullach intern, p. 239f.

⁶¹ Vgl. Boveri, Betrayal, p. 111 ff.
See also Heinz to Blank, 28.3. 1953, in: Privxtnachf. Heinz.
Noted Easter, 7.9. 1950, in: BA-MA, BW9/3108, fol. 6.

⁶²

⁶³

ter Page approached. Also the from Reinhard Gehlen, dem former boss the Department Foreign Armies East of the Supreme Commander of the Army, in Pullach-based intelligence service was in the Sold the American. In the May 1950 began the former general the armored troops Gerhard Count of Schwerin in the Order Adenauer's, under dem Roof of the Federal Chancellery a Working staff to build, to one future West German Security policy to plan. Schwerin became first Herbert Blankenhorn assigned, the the small foreign policy Department of the Federal Chancellery Although the Pursue with tacit approval the Allies he- followed, floated above him the sword of Damocles of the law the Allied High Commission for Elimination of the German militarism from the 16th December 1949s. One the first Orders of the Federal Chancellor to his fresh chosen Security commissioned was, a own military Intelligence service to found. As a battle-tested Front Commander had Schwerin barely above Experience on this area. Blankenhorn referred Schwerin to Achim Easter, the recently also in the Federal Chancellery occurred was. Although limited itself the artilleryman Oster's intelligence qualification on its property as son of Hans Oster, but he presented the Connection to Heinz here. Schwerin had to this Time no more precise Ideas above the Pullacher Service⁶⁴. First was right him unknown, that Gehlen obvious since dem spring 1950 with Hans Globke, the head the domestic political Department of Federal Chancellery, the Possibility a takeover his organization in the Federal Service discussed. Globke, the competitor Blankenhorn in the favor of the Federal Chancellor⁶⁵, was apparently neither in the Furnishings the Department Schwerin still informed about the establishment of relations with Heinz been. The should itself soon as heavy mortgage prove, not only for the Department Schwerin, rather also for Heinz⁶⁶.

Heinz was in July 1950 the Department Schwerin »attached⁶⁷«. This formulation described the Fact, dafi he that is already for the Federal Government worked, but first in August 1950 received federal funding. The Regulation of its References and the his Employees continued into the September 1950. Middle July 1950 Heinz sketched a Reconnaissance service in exclusive assignment to the Federal Chancellor, who also the use the information decide should. Logically were no official Connections to Allied services. Schwerin approved the Per-

⁶⁴ See Official Journal of the Allied High Commission, 1949, No. 7, p.72ff. On the history of Service-place Schwerin cf. Roland G. Foerster, domestic policy Aspects the Security West Germany (1947-1950), in: Beginnings West German security policy (1945-) 956, Vol. 1: From the Surrender until for the Plevan Plan, ed. from the Military history Research Office, Munich/Amsterdam 1982, p. 403-575, here p.45W82, 544—556.

See Note Kielmansegg from the 13.7. 1953, in: BA-MA, BW9/211 I, fol.103 f.

⁶⁶ So Schwerin to Geyr from Schweppenburg on 18.9. 1964 in: IfZ, ED 91/22.

⁶⁷ See Reinhard Go, The Service. Memories 1942-1971, Mainz/Wiesbaden, p. 177 ff.; The Adenauer's State Secretary. Personality and political Works Hans Globkes, edited by Klaus Godt, Stuttgart 1980, p.91; survey Schwerin, 14.9. 1971 and 13. Z. 1972, in: IfZ, ED 33s/12.

Note Kielmansegg from the 13.7. 1953, in: BA-MA, BW9/2111, fol. 104.

⁶⁸

gram, emphasized however, that the Schwerin office has no official connection with Heinz will entertain me. Rather, this should be dem Tamnamen pArchive for Contemporary Research" in bathroom Godesberg and from October 1951 in Frankfurt a. M. established Office Heinz exclusively above and through Easter controlled become. After Oster acted as Schwerin's liaison to the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution*¹.

With this construction, one dtn early twenties years ago a similar situation arose: The State transferred Tasks whose Perception of him. through the Allies were prohibited from targeting persons or groups of persons which he denied when in doubt. Thus, the state itself became a conspirator. When Johann Graf Kielmansegg, Colonel a. D. and military expert the Schwerin office, after whose failure warned against even the slightest hint of 'Black Reichswehr' to avoid' ⁰, so indicates the the Connection. Because the SchWgfißl office failed Yes not last but not least, that her Director not between her von Adt- nauer prescribed conspiratorial character and the curiosity the press to knew how to convey . At least to Beginn the security policy considerations saw itself the State Wigder dependent on people who next to the qualification for the intended task also the mental and character-related predisposition owned, itself on the dangerous and thankless game to get involved. Dubious appear such often dazzling personalities. Nevertheless, Schwerin has, in retrospect, a good Heinz was considered to be an "extraordinarily clever and capable man (. ..), which at with tight leadership one can achieve very good things"*.

On the 10th August 1950 received Schwerin a Work program of the Archives for Against- Wartsforschung[^], which, following the initials of its director, was soon called 'gFWH-Dienst' became. The Priorities of education were the GDR, but also the Danube region, i.e. i.e. the Soviet satellites. Heinz initially used his furthermore from Kolb guided Berlin network. Further worked he until 1951 with the "Combat Group Against Inhumanity", a group against the political system of the GDR directed activist group, together' ³. horst Solver, former .Branden-

⁶⁹ See Note Schwerin from the 13.7. 1950, in: BA-MA, BW9/3105, fo1.53; Note Schwerin from 8.6. 1950, in: Ibid. 3108, fo1.8; Immediate measures for the Expansion of the information service, 13. 7. 1950, in: Ibid., fo1. 49ff.; Ranger, Domestic political aspects, p. 467ff.

⁷⁰ Memorandum from the 16.11. 1950, in: BA-MA, BW9/2042, fol.6.

⁷¹ Note Federal Office for Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution from the 17. 3. 1953 (abstract), in: Ibid. 2111, fol. 102.

⁷² See Proposal for work plan of the Archives for Contemporary research, in: BA-MA, BW9/3111, fol. 15-19.

Here saw with from to Mills a age newsman and with Rainer Hildebrand a Heinz- Friend in senior Function. Mills evaluated the material out of, the Interrogation teams the Battle- group in refugee camps. This information were initially after all so valuable, then also the NacMolgerin the Department Schwerin, the Government office Blank, still in the May 1951 at the Bun- desamt for Protection against contamination for the Support the Combat group advertised. As itself the Lyre the Combat Group, Rrnst Tillich, 1951 was more interested in sabotage than in exploration, Heinz the Cooperation a Naturally is also the Combat group a Example, How the Instead of itself private Initiatives take advantage made. See Representative of the Federal Minister of the Inside in Berlin to Heinz, 18. 9.

citizens"" , was first as editor at the American New Newspaper in Berlin busy. In the December In 1950 he be Heinz in the first Post-war years given Promise true, at the Construction one Intelligence service to participate' ⁵ . He entered as clerk for the FWH service and brought so his Connections in the Soviet Union, after Yugoslavia and Sweden a.

Heinz praised itself finally his Relationships for the Swiss General Staff and to the Swiss Federal Police. He may have benefited from the old connections in the defense as well as the Contacts his friend Pabsq the he frequently in Lucerne visited", been helpful be. As national conservative Hider opponents was Pope in wise foresight 1943 in the Switzerland moved. At latest 1950 had he the Connections to the "old and close friends (.. .) - who are known to him from their previous connections in the Wehrmacht or the Abwehr", among them Heinz, Josef Müller and Achim Osten. For the American Army Intelligence Service consisted 1953 ,no doubt that Pope with dem Swiss Intelligence service tied together is and dafi he news- official Reports from Germany receives". This should also be from findings of the FWH service, to which Pope Relationships have top-level" maintained." Perner was pleased Heinz good Connections for the Spanish Consul General late. He even hoped to link his service to the network of Spanish military attachés. Actually passed already since End the twenties Years good Relationships of the defense to Spanish military and Spanish political police' ⁰ .

Under the motto .No overlaps with dem apparatus G.[ehlen]!" Heinz tried to stay away from the Pullach company. Schwerin, of course, saw the Need, on the occasion of a visit to Pullach in August 1950 at least an »unofficially friendly relationship', if not a relationship of trust" possible was'. Gehlen **was** however **keinedalls** willing, his

1951 (along with Mzrginalie from Heinz), in: BA-MA, BW9/111, fol.37; EH report from the 28.3. 19f1, in: Ibid. 2115, fo1.41 f.; Wirmer to Federal Office for Insurance protection, 28.5. 1951, in: Ibid. 2125, fol. 103; Wirmer to Federal Office for Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, July 31st 1951, Note Easter, 9.7. 1951, in: Eben-

there 2126, fol. 18-21; FWH report 14/52, 19.8. 1952, in: Ibid. 2147, fo1. 334 f.; ZollingfHöhne, Pullach internal, p.25f; Kai-Uwe Merz, Coldstream War as anti-communist resistance. The Battle-group against inhumanity 1948-1959, Munich 1987, p.38 f., 130 ff., 150 f., 1s6ff., Karlheinz Höfner, The Upgrade Wesuleuchlands. decision-making, decision-making processes and Scope West German policy 194W19S0, Munich t990, p. 197f., survey Easter: Note Meyer, 2 rooms 11. 19Z6, in: Military history Research Office Freiburg.

See Solver to Pechel, 27.8. 1947, in: BA, NI 160 III/3; Solver to Bad luck, 28.9. 1951, in: sbendz III/1.

⁷⁵ See Solver to Pechel, 16. 11. 1955, in: Ibid. III/86. ⁷⁶

Vg). Solver to Pechel, 17. and 25.5. 1951, in: Ibid.

⁷⁷ Agent Report, 23.2. 1951, in: ISC, File Haldemar Pabst, fo1. 197. See also note, August 22, 1950, in: Ibid., File Heinz, for 737.

⁷⁸ Note from the 2f. 2. 1953, in: Ibid., File Haldemar Pahst, dead. 3Z.

⁷⁹ See Spanish visit, 13.9. 1952, Visit Colonel Ulruzun, 22.9. 19f2, in: BA-MA, BW9/2124, fol. 287 f.

⁸⁰ Vg). Höhne, Canaris, p. 108 f.

⁸¹ Vonchlng, 10.8. 1950, in: BA-MA, BW9/3111, fo1. 1Z.

⁸² See Note Schwerin from 17.8. 1950, in: Ibid., fo1.27-30.

contents: <http://www.ifz-muenchen.de/heftarchiv.html>

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to restrict activities. He operation all Divisions of intelligence On- clarification and tried the FWH service to outstrip". In contrast, had to Schwerin and almost all of his Employees bdd the hat take**. Only the FWH service survive- te. Schwerin's Successor, the CDU member of the Bundestag Theodor Blank, erected also in the Frame of the Federal Chancellery one authority with the always still mucous Designation ,BeaufWagter of the Federal Chancellor for which is associated with the increase the Allied troops related Questions", for which will soon synonym "Amt Blank' naturalized*⁵. Oster coordinated furthermore the work of the Ar- chivs. And already few Months later insured Blank dem Federal Cabinet proud, he vedügte above tines »outstanding Intelligence Service".

At the end of 1951 the itself consolidating FWH service its final seat in Wiesbaden. Under Heinz - the his employees the pAwareness of Pioneers' *- worked Solver ais Director the Evaluation, which in turn a Evaluator for Military and People's Police. The service drew from four sources: open messages (Press, Brochures etc.), Connections to friendly services, Refugee survey and the procurement through own Scouts. The Berliner network under Kolb had now the Character of a own Aullensielle, the one each military and a political Agent network *steuene*. Mainly inter- ate one itself for the People's Police Reserves and the Soviet Army in the GDR. In Munich became one more Aultensielle furnished. She became first by Gerhard shaft led, a former pa1lschirmjägeroffizier and Friend from Heinz. 1952 took over Hermann Müller the Ault office. She vedügte about advanced bene bases in Vienna and Trieste. From here out of operation one the enlightenment in Southern Europe and in Danube region*°.

Naturally let the initial fiction the complete Independence of the Service in front of the Federal Chancellery or front American Blank not permanently hold out. At latest in the spring t953 spoke one clearly from one dem pAmt subordinate Office '**. Since January i9s3 had one Heinz the Colonel retired John Cherry as Position

⁸³ See lecture notes Schwerin for Biankenhorn, October 18, 1950, in: Ibid. 3105, fol. 198f.

⁸⁴ See Ranger, domestic policy aspects, p. 565ff.

⁸⁵ To Story the Office Blank cf. Christian Greiner, The Department Blnnk. Government practice xis in the preparation of the German Defense contribution from 1950-1955, in: **MGM** 17 (1975), pp. 99-124, Montecue J. Lowry, The Forge of West German Rearmament.TheodorBlankand the Government office Blank, Ntw York/Bern/Frankfurt aM/Paris 1990, William Meier-Dörnberg.The planning of the Ver- defense contribution the Federal Republic Germany in the Frame the RVG, in: Beginnings West German German Security Policy 1945-1956, Vol. 2: The EVG phase, published by Military History Y•or- Research Office, Munich 1990, p. 605-756, here esp.5.671 ff.,71sff.;Dieter Kruger, The arm Blank. The difficult Founding of the Federal Ministry for Defense, Freiburg 19P3.

Business meeting from the 18.4. 1951, in: The Cabin protocols the Federal Government, ed. for the Federal Archives from Hans Booms, Vol.4, Boppard 1988, p.319. Penance to Htinz, 12. 10. 19\$3, in:Private estate Hey qz.

See Suggestion for the budget from FWH, 20. 11. 19so, Information service East, 20. 11. 19s0, in:BA- MA, BW9/111, fol.20—25, Note Heinz, 25.10. 1950, in: Ibid. 211S, fol. 13ff.

⁸⁹ Blank to John, April 1953 (Draft), in: Ibid. 2110, fo1.191. See also Instruction from the 20.11. 1953,

representative to the side placed. Nonetheless remained Heinz the instigating Figure. Opposite but in News matters not excessive experienced Easter owned he a 'noticeable excess weight'. He had for a long time always had direct access to the Head of department and Letter I*. The leader the subject-neutral Usage department I was Ernst Wirmer, former personal assistant of the Chancellor and brother of the after July 20, 1944 executed Josd Wirmer. At least in the first years of the Office Blank was he whose qgrey eminence". From Blank and Wirmer received Heinz occasionally direct Applications. head gave it dem persistent conspiratorial tive character accordingly until 1953 no written determination the Position of the Archive" ⁹⁰

Until for the spring 1954 had itself the Intelligence service considerably reinforced. To this-sem time operation the Director with seven employees the Headquarters the Evaluation. The branch office Berlin had six Employee, five main liaison officers and 120 informants on site; the Munich branch has seven employees, two main liaison officers and 40 informants. The Employees and main liaison officers were in the meantime Employees of the Federal. In addition, contacts to the Ladders from intelligence services in Rome, Bern, Copenhagen and The Hague". Not least the low costs, but also the independence from the Americans earned the FWH service the recognition of the Bundestag". A six-member committee under Leadership of Franz Josef Strauss and Fritz During a visit to Wiesbaden in May 1953, Erler signaled that the Pullach service would not be taken over, but rather the I want to continue the FWH service**. To this At that point, dark clouds had already gathered over Heinz.

In the September 1950 had Adtnauer with Gehlen met. Allegedly came him the information out of competing Sources only located. Darnufhin said Globke in December 1950 Gehlen the takeover in the federal service". That in 1952 the former Lieutenant General Adolf Heusinger Head of the military department of the office Blank took over and so that Superior from Heinz became, came the Ambitions of Gehlen, his former subordinate. Because Heusinger had opposite Oito Lenz, State Secretary in the Federal Chancellery, already 1951 for that

in: Ibid. 2115, dead. 80; Kiernansegg before dem Bundestag Committee for Questions the European Security, 12. 3. 19H, in: Ibid., fol. 100.

De Maiziére to Heusinger, May 1954, in: Ibid. 2068, fol. 12f.

⁹¹ See Heinz on Blank, 14. 7. 1953, in: Ibid. The contact person to Danish news service was Hans Lunding, the with Canaris and Hans Easter in the Corporate ration camp Flossenbiurg gesit had. Personal notice from WoFgang Gerhardt, Rendsburg, to S.Mén1.

⁹² The Means of Services increased from 1951 = 364 on 1953 = 700 Thousand DM at around 200 Beheading Against it worked Go 1954 with above 3500 employees and a budget from ci. 20 million DM. See Kiernansegg before dem Safety training, 12. 3. 1954, in: BA-MA, BW9/2115, fol. 92f., 100-103.

⁹³ See 6-pack Exclusion dos Bundestag Committee for Questions the European Security on 29. 5. 1953 in Wjggbaden, in: Ibid., fol. 73f.

Vgl. God, State Secretary Adenauer's, p. 18Sff.

to replace Heinz with Gehlen". In 1952, Gehlen was able to replace the apparently impressed Blank in Pullach received". To the Dismantling of the Gehlen competitors Heinz worked meanwhile - with knowledge and approval his Protek- tors Globke - the President of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, Otto John. He collected material against Heinz*, although Blank 1951 with John the Exchange and the cooperation between dem Federal Office and the FWH service had agreed. In fact, useful material from the Federal Office was only obtained through Jürgen Brandt, the further the Department Schwerin heard had and then to Federal Office changed was, so 'more or less unofficial'".

On June 15, 1953 Blank commissioned the lyre player the University Department for Military policy of his office, Count Kielmansegg, the pretexts against Heinz zu Mären. His report exposed most of the pretexts as trivialities, more damaging to John than to Heinz's ⁹⁰. It was stressful next to dem — from John stoked — continued distrust of American and British intelligence service** before everything the Fall Jan Eland⁹⁰ ². Still in the second half of the year 1950 — so after Heinz had already in Federal services kicked was — had ef him with Information supplied. As Eland him 1952 with it to he-

press tried, set itself at Heinz again ultimately impulsive temperament against cold-blooded cleverness. He promptly brought about a judicial conviction of Eland. In the course of the During the appeal proceedings, numerous proceedings were initiated against Heinz pending. Dabci held stubbornly the Assumption that Eland and his defense attorney Hellmut Kelch contacted John had. To thinking, the John and Eland knew each other since 1947' and Chalice his attack even after dem Death of his client Inn November 1953 continued'^. If Heinz in the October 1952 Globke

⁹⁵ See Inn Center the Might. The diary by State Secretary Lenz 1951-1953, edited by Elaus Gotto/Hans-Otto Kleinmann/Reinhard Joiner, Düsseldorf 1989, p. 83; The Mirror from the 26. 8. 1953, p.5 and from 2. 9. 1953, p.5f.

⁹⁶ See Note de Maizièrè from 14. 8. 1952, in: BA-MA, N 626/202.

⁹⁷ See Note from the 20. 0. 1952, in: ISC, File Heinz, fol.720. See also Heinz to John, 30. 3. and 26. 10. 1953; Heinz to Globke, 7.4. 1953, in:Privatnachlaß Heinz.

⁹⁸ See Blank to John, 23.4. 1951, in:BA-MA, BW9/2125, fol. 81; John to Blank, 21.6. 1951, in:Ibid. 2126, fol. 92.

⁹⁹ Buy to Easter, August 21, 1951, in: Even& 2126, fol.1.e4. Heinz defendant itself even, daft him the Federal Saint not above the dem Protection against burglary become important Attempt the Soviets undernected have, one previous secretary on him to be applied. See Heinzan John, 1. 8. 1952 (along with facilities), in:Ibid., fol. 246—249. Taisicldich stand this process in Connection with dem Under the influence of East German and Soviet office, the entire office Blank to infiltrate, vg1. Activation of the processing of the Reconnaissance Department of the Office Blank', (1954), in: ZA MfS, APIS284/56, fol. 1S8f.

¹⁰⁰ See Investigation results to the against Mr. Frederick Wilhelm Heinz rise Voiwüden, 29. 7. 1953 (along with facilities), in: BA-MA, BW9/2111, fol.3—34, 45-219. See Notes Kielrunsegg from the 8. and 15. 7. 1953, in: Ibid., fol.1sof., 203f.

¹⁰² After the De-stemming from Heinz described the Mirror from the 18. 11. 1953, p. 9-15, the case Eland around- comprehensive and - follows one the relevant Eating of the Office Blank - applicable. See also Heinz to

Wormer, Official Report, 15. 10. 1951, settlement, 20. 10. 1952, ini Private estate Heinz.

¹⁰³ See Informal Memorandum, 23.10. 1951, in: ISG, File Heinz, fol.7S1.

¹⁰⁴ The Ministry for Status security the GDR suspected in chalice, the itself even on East German Be-

assured that he had starting work for the federal government July 1950 to other locations "no and still so hairless information more given"¹⁰, so was the in this Clarity incorrect.

For Gehlen and John bot the case Eland the welcome Opportunity, Heinz Ver-connections to the Soviet intelligence service. They believed that their Confronted have the Soviet Opponent via Eland with information supplied, which had led to serious breakdowns in the Pullach service' The American Army Intelligence Service saw however in dem endeavor, Heinz as a the last Agents of the To expose the 'Red Orchestra' was just a crazy idea of Gehlen's ⁰⁷. With this rumor operated Gehlgn however also against other employees dgs Office Blank, the environment of July 20 1944 attributable were, above all against Achim Oster, firmer and Kielmansegg* ⁰. However, Heinz Felfe was probably the leak in Pullach. Gehleis's employee had been Moscow's man in the Federal Intelligence Service*¹.

What is interesting, however, is the different assessment of the Eland case by the Federal Chancellery or the Office B tank. Kielmansegg held the skepticism German and Allied Services opposite Heinz for serious as the case Eland. Wirmer wanted Heinz after five years of unregulated activity (. . .) cannot be blamed for was delinquent in the switch to official clarity and Cleanliness, especially since it is a matter of concern to his employer [also Schwerin] was also not available.' Wirmer criticized the Advertisement against Eland as "Art thieves", the dem Liter one intelligence service not undermine dude. Otherwise saw he the case Eland but rather as Symptom : Heinz is prone to 'exaggerations, short-circuits, and indiscretions.' In the long term, such a personality is unsuitable to lead an intelligence agency. Nevertheless, Wirmer advised against dismissal and suggested that Heinz take over the management of the intelligence gathering. With the consolidation of the federal administration in general and the "officialization" of the intelligence service in In particular, the conspirator no longer fit into the landscape, although Wirmer ant his intelligence experience didn't want to do without.

horden skillful hacked, to Material against Heinz to suffered, a Representative Gehlen's. Of course, the Attempt discussed, chalice to advertise. See Note from the 10. 2. 1954, in: ZA MfS, AP 15 284/s", fol.106 f.

^{1M} Heinz to Gtobke, 18.10. 1952, in: BA-MA, BW9/2110, fol.16f.

^{1CE} See Note dated 9.3. 1954, in: ISC, File Heinz, fol.493f.

VgI. Note, O. D., in: Ibid., fol. 469. At the øRed Chapel" acted ts itself urn a relatively successful Soviet spy network in Europe during the Second World War, dem also German officers. See Heinz Höhne, keyword: Director. The Story the Rotrn Kapellt, Frankfurt a. M. 1970, esp. p.265 ff.

(. . .) the Gehlen Organization also suspects that as many as five (5) men now with the Blank Office, among them Serious Wirmer, Achim Oster and Count Rohan Adolf from Kielmanaegg, had contact with the ‚Redness Chapel' complex and quiet have leanings in the same direction". Summary of Information,

19.3. 1954, in: ISC, File Heinz, fol. 490.

See Zolling/Höhne, Pullach inner, p. 281 ff.; Htinz Felle, Inn service dts opponent. Ten Jthre Moscow Man in the BND, Hamburg/Zurich 1986, p.175 ff., 214ff., 258 ff.

Wolfgang Holtz, the Deputy Blanks, closed Wirmer's vote, wanted but the Decision dem State Secretary in the Federal Chancellery leave it to us." The ran on one Decision through Lenz and Globke beyond. Globke of course had insisted, even before the final outcome of the investigation, that Heinz to dismissed. Himself the from chalice strenuous suit because of of the unjustified use of the title »Oberst a. D." was not trivial enough for him to dismiss from Heinz formal legal to secure. Actually let itself barely a greater contrast think a)s that between the quiet and efficient serving ministerial official and your in the last decades always politically active Heinz, whose Life inevitably a colorful and diverse Mosaic work' was ' 1 '. Who After he had switched off, Globke wanted to use the Gehlen apparatus in the Federal Service. With the consideration of perhaps transferring this to the future Ministry of Defence to assume, he tried dem Government office Blank the separation from Heinz tasty to Of course, Heusinger noted – he too was a quieter and competent assistants - also for the replacement and immediate suspension from Heinz". With the Thanks to for painless and successful Work" sent Blank on t. October 1953 Heinz went on holiday, the termination of his employment contract .in full peace" followed *. Oegner reacted promptly. The Soviet intelligence service placed Alfred Friedrich, once an informant of the Gehlen Service, already in September 1953, to recruit Heinz. After Heinz had arranged his arrest, the man was sentenced to several years in prison a year later.

Löser, Heinz's friend and closest colleague, also saw himself in disgrace at Globke. Influence he led Edie Elimination or deportation you Officers of the Hitler Opposition' from the young Ministry of Defense . Consequently rejected he 1955 one possible takeover in the Ministry or the Federal Intelligence Service". From the intelligence service of the Blank office after the removal of Heinz, such an important employee, or good spirit (. .) disappeared; instead, Bureaucracy and intellectual and especially political narrow-mindedness".

See opinion Wirmer, 5.8. 1953, in: BA-MA, BW9/2111, fol.38—43 .

ilt See Wirmtr to Chief Public Prosecutor at the Regional Court Wiesbaden, 25. 1. 1954, in: Ibid. 2110, fol.16 f., Note Kielmansegg Rome Z. 7. 1953, in: Rbenda 2111, fol.54; Latemser to Regional Court Vfiesbaden, 22.10. [1956], in: Private estate Heinz

¹¹² Heinz to Blank, 29.9. 1953, in: Private inheritance Heinz.

¹¹¹ See Note Kie lmansegg from the 7.7. 1953, in: BA-MA, BW9/2111, fol.53-56 .

¹¹⁺ See opinion from the 1.8. 1953, in: Ibid., fol.35.d

¹¹⁵ diary the Department II of the Aintts Blank, 29.9. 1953, in: Even a 2527-3; O 82.

¹¹⁶ See Heinz to Blank: Official diary Report, 1.all. 1953, in: Private estate Heinz, Indictment f t against Alfred Frederick, 6.8. 1954, in: ISC, File Heinz, fol.4341f., The Mirror from the November 18th 1953, p.9f. and from the 3.11. 1954, p.44.

¹¹⁷ vgi. Loser on the right. is. ii. eat, is. see tsss, in: BA No.

where nr/8s.¹¹⁸ Bult to Heinz, 10. 8. 1954, iii: Private newspaper Heinz

IV.

How successful but were Heinz and his Employees really? Zolling and Höhne circulates that Heinz only has newspaper reports enriched¹¹⁹. On the other hand, there is little doubt that the analyses of the FWH service were read in the Federal Chancellery. The Foreign Office, the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, and even the parliamentary opposition also referred to the reports. The scope of the reporting activity and the breadth of the investigation - as far as they are the files of the Blank office are handed down - appear in view of the personnel are financial equipment impressive¹²¹. Included becomes clearly, that Heinz certainly parallel not only to organization Gehlen, rather also for the Federal Office for Environmental Protection enlightened¹²², so one Competition to this was certainly given. On the other hand, enabled this competition also the Comparison the Enlightenment results. So Heusinger, then still a close colleague of Gehlen, was December 1950 with the examination of the Findings of the FWH service on the Soviet armed forces in the GDR commissioned. Pullach confirmed based on your own documents the analysis by Heinz¹²³. Similarly, at least in the early days also with the following

compared with the intelligence findings of the British and American reconnaissance forces¹²⁴.

In the Years 1950 had one still very strong the domestic policy Situation, included the Protection against contamination and the Federal Government, in the visor. Out of this Area also came from the News that Heinz had delivered to Eland. Calculation and left-wing radicalism, before everything in the Federal Republic, reported the Service from 1951 until into the spring 1953. Naturally found the Communists special Attention¹²⁵. The German Service groups the American occupying power, whose Takeover in German Armed Forces one For a while educated became, considered the service with for the Part

¹¹⁹ See Rolling/Höhne, Pullach internal, p. 240.

See BA-MA, BW9/361 I. and 2147 passim. Kurt Schumacher, Erich Ollnhauer and Annemarie Renger, employee Schumacher's, belonged to the attentive Readers especially those reports, the itself with the political Development in the GDR employed. See AdSD, Nachf. Erich Ollnhauer, folder 435f.

¹²¹ Pürdas first Hdb year 1952 wrote Heinz in total 123 Reports with together 54 Pages. Including there were 49 military Reports with together 329 Pages and 74 political, wirtschaftliche and other reports with a total of 22 pages.

¹²² In this respect deceptive the Remember, run Kilmannegg means, the PWH service have itself only the People's police dedicated to. See Aspect the German rearmament until 1955, ed. by Military Layer Research Office, Boppard a. Rh. 1975, p. 33.

¹²³ See Evaluation 25/50, in: BA-MA, BW9/3108, fol. 294 f. See also Norbert Wiggershau, Threatened ideas Federal Chancellor Adenauer after outbreak of the Korean War, in: MGM 25 (ins), pp. 71-122, here see 88.

¹²⁴ See FWH report 25/50.25. 10. 1950, in: BA-MA, BW9/2135, fol. 8f. See also Note Heinz from the 26. 9. 1950, in: Ibid. 2121, fol. 4f.
See ibid. 2146, passim.

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VfZ research: <http://vfz.ifz-muenchen.de>

Timely

devastating Judging". Over the Eastern European satellite states" and the Eastern European emigrants became regularly Andysen manufactured. Quite was discussed in detail above the political Conditions Austria's reported, where the military situation and the communists were particularly interested ". Also about the Middle East, especially Egypt, and Far East as well as above the Vatican are Reports overshadowed" ⁰. From center 1953 goes the Reporting activity on this fields recognizable back. Nature- according to stand the military Position in the GDR and the observation their Upgrade downtown of the interest. And only on this Field is it currently possible, although laborious, the reporting to check".

On 4. August 1950 manufactured Schwerin on the basis the Investigation results from Heinz a first extensive report above the Upgrade the GDR to, the Federal Chancellor, Globke, Blankenhorn and Schumacher approached. Schwerin reported 45 police units, 15 Schools and a total strength between 68 000 and 70 000 Man". Actually existed 1950 the 15 schools, but only 39 Readiness of the various branches of the armed forces as well as a total actual strength of approx. 49000 Man * ³. At best including the border police units, whose Actual strength in the October 1950 with approx. 17000 Man assumed became", you come to 66000 Man. On the 26th In October 1950, the FWH service reported on the deployment of the border police. Comparison with official Documents show considerable uncertainties at individual locations, nonetheless is the report overall consistent." Himself the Report above the Lineup from three GDR divisions

¹²⁶ See *ibid.*, passim. See also Heinz-Ludger Borgert/[^]falter Storm Norbert Nggershaus, service groups and West German Defense contribution. Preliminary considerations to Armament of the Federal Re- public Germany, Boppard a.Rh. 1982.

¹²⁷ See BA-MA, BW9/2140f., passim. The Reports übr Hungary had obvious good Quality, whether- probably the reporting above the actual Army, in Contrast to the border troops, rdative sporadically was. In the remainder seem the Reports also no intelligence Game material to contain. Not to decide is, whether the reports information out of Migrant circles or also from Informants in the Land underlying lay. Persian marriage notice from Dr. Joseph Borus, Buda pest, xn D. Krüget- The Federal Office Protection against contamination certified dem Government office Blank, the Reports above the Russian emigration had »grofies Interest" found. See Federal Office to Government office Blank, 5.6. 1951, in: BA-MA, BW9/2125, fol. 118.

¹²⁹ See *ibid.* 2142 f., passim.

¹³⁰ See ebrnda 2129 and 2144, passiin.

The Overriding the early Police ready and the Border Police is ther spontaneously and uniy- steniatically. For this purpose, there is a former head of the People's Police, Lieutenant General Hoffmann, authorized study report above Rntstand and Development dtr barracks men People's Po- Itxci" from 16. t2. 1953. io: BA-MA, St 2070 (future' „Studi•" ziti•rr).

¹³² Vgi. Investigation results out of the Eastern Zone, 4. 8. 1950, in: *Ibid.*, BW9/2147, fol. 7, 11 f.

See study, p. 8 f. and in addition also Uggershaus, Threat perceptions, p. go.

¹³⁴ See FWH report 3/51, in: BA-MA, BW9/2131, fol. 10.

¹³⁵ See BA-MA, Pt 10 400. Also in year 1953 gave the service the Deployment the Border Police Readiness partnerships in Regimental Storm correct again. See Organization rust, L quarter of 1953, in: *Ibid.*, pi 1039S; structure map, in: *Ibid.*, Pt 10396. The for end 1950 reported outline the readiness

beyond Or and Neille was basically right from the start as game material of the Soviet intelligence service sees through **.

Based on reports of strength from mid-December 1950, the report above the actual People's Police Reserves, the above one Should- strength from 1800 Man vedigten, checked become. This resulted in on, that the service the Actual strengths of the Readiness in Saxony and Thuringia considerably to low The names of the commanders were also ^{incorrect}. In contrast, the FWH service for the End of year 1950 one Total strength the Land Forces (People's Police- readiness) the GDR from approx. 60000 Man to, while a Total strength list- development from January 26 1951 actually on a Target strength of 53 159 and one Actual strength

from only 51188 men come" . Applicable reported the F•WH service about the in December 1950 onset Reclassification in mixed, d. h. out of alltn Armed Forces gene existing readiness. However, underestimated the service the Actual strength with 1300 to over 400 Man". Also the Nuformation the Readiness in 1952 the FWH service probably in the essential toWeffend reported ' 0 . Number and Type the 1953 existing schools has the Service right away listed *'.

One Compilation above the General Corps of the GDR, As of 15. May 1953, was able to use a personnel file, Stand from about the end of 1952, compared The Declarations of the FWH service are that is patchy and in Details also blurry, but in total astonishing applicable" ² . Equals one the Compilation of the FWH- Service above the units the GDR armed forces from the July 1953 with the - not emergency maneuverably complete - Card index the Commanders and Chiefs of Staff in the area

sch«fustübe, Grönzkommundanturcn and Border commands as well as the armament the latter was in the essential applicable. Only the Gtsamutstärke one Border commands szurde to high to- given. See FWH Report 3/51 (As of: Ertdd October 1950), in: level BW97213i, fol. 9f., 18; Nlfried Hanisch, Front heavy Beginning, oO and D., p.47f.; *ibid.*, For the Protection the State border of the young republic, oO uD, p.34.

¹³⁶ NggersLaus' determination, Heinz be East German Game material up, is thus not quite applicable. In the October 1950 took place only the Empowerment, that it itself to one targeted Pasch- report acted. See Final Assessment, FWH report 2s/50, in: BA-MA, BW9/2135, dead. 6; report from the t4.8. 1950, Note Heinz from the 25.8. 1950, Evaluation 3/50, 27.8. 1950, in: Elenda 3108, fol. 173, 183, 19f, Jggershaus, threats, p. 104.

¹³⁷ See FWH report 34/50, in: BA-MA, BW9/2132, for 23-32; Pt 328 f.

¹³⁸ See FWH report 2/51, in: *Ibid.*, BW9/2132, fol. 50; Pt 335. Also in the August 1951 overprotected the service the Overall strength university approx. 2000 Man; the Starch mixtures for the individual Departments and Schools of People's Police remained inaccurate. See *ibid.*, fo1. 164ff.; Pt 335.

¹³⁹ VgL FRH reports 48/51 and 66/51, in: *Ibid.*, lo1. 1061., 118-122; Student, p.9.

¹⁴⁰ See FWH report 17/52, in: BA-MA, BW9/2132, fol.200 f.; PWH report 50/52, 22.3. 1952, in: *Ibid.*, fol.204, FWH Report 204/52, 11.10. 1952, in: *Ibid.*, fol.218-222; presentation of the Military door academy Friedrich Engels': The gradual formation of a central leadership body the Barracks People's Police and whose role at the Expression of the character of this arm- ten E save (July 1952 until End 1955), 13. 12. 1971, in: BA-MA VA-08/28 013, fol.22-82, here fol. 33-37; Study, p. i2f.

¹⁴² See FWH report 153/53, in: BA-MA, BW9/2132, dead.334 ff Study, p. 17 f. See FWH report 1is/53, n: BA-MA, BW9/2131, for. i48-i60; Pt z93.

the Head Office Training away, so let itself only the groil subordinate regiments the territorial administrations and the schools with their commanders . Whose Names you reported FRH service in the Rule "applicable." A report on the establishment of the maritime police was based on solid detailed knowledge in the areas of personnel and organization as well as on naval expertise. 13. October 1952 Hardly less was competent a Report on the Air Police Deployment Status as of June 19, 1953"

This — conscious not on the Top-level structure concentrated — scarce The impression of the extensive reconnaissance of the GDR armed forces must suffice to support the claim that Heinz, with his intelligence service, represented an important and generally reliable source of information for the Federal Chancellery. This is also consistent with the fact that both the FWH service and Heinz himself published exaggerated reports about offensive preparations in 1951 and 1952. in the GDR and about the establishment of the Kasernierte Volkspolizei, such reports may have also from the Swiss Intelligence Service or the Federal Ministry for All-German Affairs' ⁴¹. As late as July 1953, Wirmer sent Lenz a paper by Heinz on Soviet policy towards Germany, noting that Heusinger and Kielniansegg also considered it to be "quite remarkable" In fact, Heinz's view essentially corresponded to that of the Chancellor. Even the above the narrower newstheftischen Area beyond Heinz's competence was therefore not questioned by the Blank office's management .

¹⁴³ See FWH report I \$5315, in: Ebtnda, fo1.337-377, Pt 793. Despite certain deviations is also the compilation of the Staffs for the Bernich of the Territorial Administration or Arinee group Pase- walk in total correct. See \fh Report 61/53 (Appendix), in: Ibid., fo1.279. Problematic remained ben the Strike reports. Under Inclusion the in the Construction located sea and Air sirtite forces reported the FWH service on 3.2. t953 between 128000 and 132000 Man. Actually bemig the Actual strength at the end of the year 1953 only 89700 Man. The strength of the maritime police was almost 2000 men overestimated. See FWH report 23/S3, in: Ibid. 2132, fol.256 ff Study, p. 19.

¹⁴⁴ See FWH report 205/S2, 13. 10. 1952, in: BA-MA, BW9/2131, fo1. 286-300. So that Judgment of a Time- witnesses, the an informant in the main administration the police suspect. Possibly acted it is the Maritime Police Council Council, the at that time Personnel documents edited and one Daily disappeared. TatsücMicli bndinct under dem Writing pen paraphs "R". Personal notice from Ulrich H.-J. Israel, Potsdam, to D. Kruger.

¹⁴⁵ See FWH report 130/53, in: Ibid., fol.217-220. However were not all entries recorded been, so that the Total strength son cx 3000 Man to something 1500 man to low protected became. Personal notice or Appraise of the Military historian Dr. Jürgen Wild, Potsdam, to D. Kruger.

¹⁴⁶ See Heinz to Blank, 3.6. 1951, in: Ibid. 2115, fol.67f.; Heinz to Easter (along with Annex), 4.7. t951, Notes, 13.9. and 6- 10. 1951, 31. 1. 1952, in: Ibid. 2120, Hol.73f., 7rf., 87-94 .

¹⁴⁷ Wirmer to Lenz, July 10, 1953 (along with Attachment: The Close- and Long-term goals of Soviet Germany- polecall 16.6. 1953), in: Ibid. 2130, fo1.50-58 .

¹⁴⁸ See in addition Conrad Adeoauer, Tea conversations 1950-19d, inherited from Hanns J. Kirsten, Berlin 1984, p. 102, 299, 333-337; ibid., Tea conversations 1955-1957, Berlin 1986, p. 13f.

V.

The Kolb case ultimately cost Heinz his political and personal integrity. In the spring of 1954, Kolb was dismissed from the Berlin branch due to financial irregularities. Episode atoned the Berlin network in the GDR and Poland more than a third of his informants". The Munich branch was also soon badly hit.¹⁴⁹ Hardly surprising that the bitter Kolb itself in the July 1954 from dem Agents Heinz Herbert Stoeckert recruit ly. The former career officer Stoeckert stood since 1951 in service of the Soviet Secret Service NK . He was in the Subsequent period in Federal Ministry for all-German Questions for the »Battle Group against Inhuman- ity' responsible and worked as Interview in the refugee camps Giellen and Udzen. In Summer 1953 became he to the entire office Blank set, which is increasingly the crosshairs of Soviet intelligence. He had initially hoped that through his sought-after acquaintance with Kolb to be employed in the Blank office. The successful advertising by Kolb suggested, now, on the eve of West Germany's NATO accession, also to Kolb's superior, who had also been pushed out of the intelligence service, Heinz, come forward. In fact, itself Heinz in the September 1954 for a meeting with dem Commanding officer Stoeckerts and Kolbs convince. How Kolb know later wanted, be Heinz at this Opportunity recruited been' ¹⁵⁰. The Ministry to for State security sterile against it 1956 firmly, that it itself probably only to a Heinz's exploratory attempt" ¹⁵¹.

The from chalice against Heinz initiated Proceedings because of allegedly unauthorized Bearing the title "Colonel (ret.)" ended in November 1954 with a conviction for perjury. In December t954 attracted Kolb Heinz again in the eastern sector of Berlin. Few later returned Heinz back and claimed, from Kolb kidnapped and only narrowly escaped from the Soviet headquarters in Karlshorst . men to While Kolb his Friend later serious intentions for the Overflow assumed, claimed this against it, Kolb had him there a important exonerating witnesses." The GDR news agency ADN widespread the message, Heinz have about political sought asylum. It but be him

¹⁴⁹ See Note, 15. 10. 1954, in: ISC, Pile Jacob Kolb, fol. 19.

¹⁵⁰ You led since 1952 a former officer of the Waffen-SS. He had an obviously not inefficient bigts Nice in Austria raised. Without To know his superiors dear he itself 1954 however on a dangerous Double game with the Soviet intelligence service It ended with his judgment by the Federal Court of Justice. See BA-MA, BW9/2112, fol. 74-120, passim.

¹⁵¹ So the description of the 1957 to the Americans defected Stneckert. See agent Report, 15. p. 1957, in: ISC, File Kolb, 10l. 21-29. 2u Kolb cf. also BA-MA, BW9/2112, passim. See

¹⁵² Note, 5. 7. 1956, in: ZA MfS, AP 15284/56, fol. 187.

¹⁵³ See Schlabrendorff to Higher Regional Court Frankfurt, 21.5. 19s9, in: Private inheritance Heinz.

¹⁵⁴ See agent Report, 15.5. 1957, in: ISC, File Kolb, fol.29-35; Note, 5. 7. 1956, in: ZA MfS, AP 15 284/56, fo1. 187f. Vgi. also Boveri, Betrayal, p.248 If.

because of his right-wing extremist past" ⁵ . A justification that seems just as implausible as Heinz's claim to have been kidnapped. about the reasons that actually brought Heinz into the lion's den We can only speculate as to what he was doing. Were they reminiscences of his former days with the Freikorps and conspirators, or did he believe that a daring counter-espionage move would allow him to become a news professional again? into business, or did he actually want to defect? The Soviets had hoped Heinz in Within the framework of their Propaganda against the Paris Conference on the German NATO accession"*. The Ministry for State Security the GDR went later however of that out of, data The overflow attempt by From the beginning it was a ruse have ' ⁵ '.

This last Adventures of the notorious putschist, High traitor and friend of the traitor Hans Oster well-known former intelligence chief for considerable noise in the Leaf forest' ^S ' ; especially with John and Karlfranz Schmidt-Wittmack, CDU MP and member of the Bundestag's Defence Committee, two important personalities for the security of the Federal Republic had already defected to the enemy.

With this episode in 1954, the political path that led Heinz von Ehrhardt via Canaris to Adenauer had led. Be Life stands for the Continuity of people, mentalities and punctuation methods state action. Shared experience, political convictions and personal friendships created a network that spanned five Decades and under the changing conditions of three remained effective throughout the ages. Saw high state Officials on People who for them to operate in the illegal or at best semi-legal grey zone, so they attacked the personal network gladly on a Type like Heinz back, a Man, in which the desire for conspiracy was combined with great commitment and a high willingness to take risks. After all, the young Freikorps leader had once placed his life under the motto:

Dear short, a Heroic song, as long Fighting
over pennies and cribs.

"" Vgl. Explanation dts former Leader the Berliner Intelligence agency of the Office Blank, Jacob Kolb, 22.12. 1934, io: BA-MA, BW9/2112, fo1.69f.

"" SoRolb later to Stoeckert. See agent Report, 15.S. 1957, in: ISC,rile Kolb,fo1.34. "" See Note, 5. 7. 1956, in: ZA MfS, AP 15284/56, fo1.188.

"" E.g. plank Ex-defense Heinz: I became kidnapped* (Evening Post from the 20.12. 19H), .East-Ber- lin: Heinz has to requested asylum" (Frankfurt General Management from 23.12. 1954), pEspionage: Somebody is lying' (Newsweek europ.ed.4S/1955,No. 1).

"" So the entry of the »Kgl. Preuf. Lt. ad' Heinz in a Guestbook 1922. SeeThe Mirror from the 18.11. 1953, S. 9.